

PEACE NEWS

No. 173

LONDON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1939.

2d.

By-Election Challenge to the War Parties:

“STOP THE WAR!”



Andrew Stewart,
Stop-the-War
Candidate,
Says . . .

The People Must Call for Peace

THE fight is on!

The united peace forces of Britain are, as I write, challenging the War Coalition in the “wee county” of Clackmannan.

I am proud to be their standard bearer. I have, indeed, never known a prouder, fuller moment in my life. Enthusiastic as I am—as I hope I shall always be—I derive added inspiration daily from the even greater enthusiasm of all who surround me. All of us are acutely sensitive to the national significance of this contest: all of us are determined that our contribution to it shall be in proportion.

Why have we taken this step, which some of our number regard as ill-advised? Why am I, a Socialist and a Pacifist, as the unanimously adopted candidate of the Scottish Anti-War and No Conscription League Council, gladly opposing Arthur

Woodburn, the Scottish secretary of the Labour Party, the Labour Party nominee, presumably also a Socialist?

The answer is simple. I believe war on the modern scale to be the greatest conceivable disaster that can befall a people. I believe war to be wasteful, inhuman, un-Christian and futile. I believe that if war is fought in the West of Europe with all the savagery and destruction we have seen in Spain, the Far East and Poland, it will mean the end of all our hopes of social progress and really civilized living. Accordingly—and this I must emphasize—I believe that at this tragic and desperate moment there is really only one political issue—war or peace?

Not a Party Issue

This is an issue which cuts through all the familiar Party barriers.

On the war side this is shown by the fact that the Conservative, Liberal and Labour Parties have agreed to an election truce for the duration of the war. Arthur Woodburn is, in fact, not a Labour candidate at all: he is a War Coalition candidate.

On the peace side it is equally shown by the wide variety of organizations backing this campaign, and by the complete bewilderment of the Communist Party and the Fascist Party over Russia’s occupation of Eastern Poland and the Nazi-Soviet alliance.

Accordingly, I shall urge the electors of Clackmannan to consider the respective claims of my opponent and myself from an angle quite different from the usual party fight. This is no party-political contest. We of the Scottish Anti-War and No Conscription League Council regard ourselves as raising the standard in a new Crusade for Peace and Freedom—for with war can only come colossal loss of life and destruction.

(Continued on page 12).

Labour M.P.s Reject Party’s War Policy

SUPPORT FOR PACIFIST AGAINST LABOUR CANDIDATE

“STOP THE WAR!” Amid the hopes and fears aroused by the events of this week, that clear challenge is being made to the Government-Opposition combination in this country

Focal point of a growing nation-wide campaign is the by-election shortly to be held in the Clackmannan and Stirling division of Scotland. The adoption of Andrew Stewart as “Stop-the-War” candidate, has already had one sensational result in the shape of a revolt by prominent Labour Party members against the official policy of their party.

Dr. Alfred Salter, MP for West Bermondsey, who for 33 years has never supported, worked, nor voted for any candidate at any election except the official Labour candidate, declares, in an appeal to the electors of Clackmannan which we print below:

“Today my religious faith, my deepest instincts and my political sense combine to compel me to support Andrew Stewart in his gallant fight in Clackmannan to stop the war and bring about a real and lasting peace.”

Dr. Salter does not stand alone in condemning Labour’s support of the Government’s war policy. Cecil H. Wilson, MP for Attercliffe (Sheffield) associates himself with and endorses his appeal to the electors. Mr. Wilson also has a long record of service to the Labour Party. Wilfred Wellock and James H. Hudson—who have similar records—and a number of official Labour Party candidates in Scotland, all take the same line. (Wilfred Wellock’s appeal to the electors appears on page 6 of this issue).

The full consequences of this revolt against the official policy of the Labour Party cannot yet be foreseen, but Dr. Alfred Salter, who says that “particularly during the last few weeks the official attitude of the Labour leaders on the question of peace and war has filled me with despair,” has given his complete support to the peace candidate “whatever may be the consequences to myself from the Party point of view.”

“Labour Leaders’ Attitude Fills Me With Despair”

—Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P.

MANY loyal members of the Labour Party find themselves faced with a painful dilemma at the present time. One of the founders of the London Labour Party and in all dictator countries, it is the past year and particularly during the intended that there shall be only one last few weeks the official attitude of the candidate, viz., one who is a Government Labour leaders on the question of peace and war has filled me with despair and utter attachment may be. Perhaps it would be misery of soul. The call of Arthur Greenwood for “a fight to the finish,” involving as it does a stifling of thought for the millions of lives to be carried on the war.

But there are times when the claims of God and of humanity upon our allegiance must take precedence of party affiliations, and when an honest and loyal man must speak and work and vote for what his conscience tells is right, irrespective of party ties. Indeed he can only be truly loyal to his Party if first of all he is loyal to his conscience.

(Continued on page 12).

PROMINENT SUPPORTERS

THE following prominent socialists and pacifists have promised to speak in support of Andrew Stewart’s candidature:

LORD PONSONBY
JAMES MAXTON, M.P.
WILFRED WELLOCK
JAMES H. HUDSON
FENNER BROCKWAY
JOHN McGOVERN, M.P.
OLIVER BROWN

Other campaign news—back page.

I HAVE been a member of the Labour Party for 33 years. I founded and built

**TWELVE PAGES
THIS WEEK
—See back page**

"OBSERVER" says:

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL, who is already being tipped in some quarters as a likely successor to Mr. Chamberlain, reviewed the first month of the war in a broadcast on Sunday.

The theme of his remarks may be summed up in his phrase: "The Government are unitedly resolved to make the maximum effort of which the British nation is capable, and to persevere whatever may happen, until decisive victory is gained."

Not justice, you will note, but "decisive victory." What does it mean? Read what Captain Liddell Hart, Military Correspondent of *The Times*, wrote about it in his recent book, *The Defence of Britain*.

"Our chief risk of losing a war lies in trying to 'win the war' by pursuing the mirage of decisive victory on the battlefield. It is also the worst danger to the prospects of ultimate peace."

"If you concentrate exclusively on victory, with no thought of the after-effect, you may be too exhausted to profit by the peace, while it is almost certain that the peace will be a bad one containing the germs of another war. . . .

"The chief hope for our civilization lies in nobody winning the next war."

Inevitable Inhumanity

A N article by Peter Evans, Military Correspondent of the *Daily Herald*, last week gave weight to the view I expressed a fortnight ago on the subject of "humanizing" warfare.

Discussing the use of poison gas, he declared that when Mussolini used mustard gas in his Ethiopian campaign, "he was only doing what any nation might do with its back to the wall—take the best means to get away from it."

Mr. Evans added: "Gas in war is a very valuable weapon, and no more inhuman than anything else that is designed by man for the mutilation and destruction of his fellow man . . . in withstanding an offensive, gas is an effective barrier. It can be so effective a barrier that I believe the first army to be really hard pressed will use it; it will be unable to overcome the temptation."

Meanwhile Germany is claiming that the British blockade is causing suffering to women and children. In his broadcast on Sunday Mr. Churchill admitted that food was among the materials seized as contraband.

It may be recalled that the blockade enforced during the last war resulted in the starvation of millions of children in Central Europe. (Thousands of leaflets drawing attention to the fact were at that time confiscated by the British Government.)

But it is futile to condemn the British Government of today for trying to bring German trade to a standstill; or to revile the Nazis because of allegations that they used gas during their campaign in Poland. One must emphasize the fact that people who support war must be ready to support these inhuman methods. Peter Evans's remark that "the first army to be really hard pressed" will use gas applies to other methods of warfare.

War cannot be "humanized"; it must either be waged with whatever weapons military needs may demand, or it must be entirely renounced.

Blockade at Home?

IS there a move to "blockade" anyone in this country whose conscientious objection led him to refuse to furnish the particulars required by the compulsory National Register last week?

It was announced that the Register would form the basis for food rationing, and on Friday *The Times* declared that "the unidentified person . . . may incur a few inconveniences, of which one will be that officially he will not be a person to be fed."

This clearly seems to be a threat. On the other hand, since rationing will not apply to all foodstuffs, it is difficult to see how failure to have completed the National Register form, and consequent failure to receive a rationing card, would prevent one from obtaining food in restaurants and from retailers of foodstuffs not affected by rationing. But widespread refusal to register would, no doubt, have upset the authorities' plans for distribution of food to the different parts of the country.

No Mask: Fined

THE comments three weeks ago by my fellow-contributor, "The Plain Man" on the subject of gas masks, and the official confirmation (reported in the same issue) that it is not a statutory offence to be without one, have had a curious sequel.

"A correspondent informs me," wrote "Q. Q." in *The Friend* last week, "that to his personal

"Victory" is a Mirage You Can't Humanize War Watch for Your Liberties Black-Out of Progress?

knowledge people have been fined (in one case the penalty was £5) for not carrying their masks. In each instance the case was brought under the charge that not carrying a mask was an act likely to lead to a breach of the peace."

This news should put us on our guard. It illustrates how subtle can be the process of restricting liberty.

I am not concerned here to argue whether or not one ought to carry a mask. The fact is that some pacifists, who have thought the matter out, have decided not to carry them.

If the authorities want to compel them to do so they should be honest about it and issue regulations to that effect. But to impose penalties in the roundabout manner I have quoted seems indefensible. And it is a method that could be applied to other matters.

A further assurance on this point was, as a matter of fact, given in Parliament last week.

In the course of a question Mr. Ellis Smith asked the Home Secretary "what proceedings have been taken against persons not carrying a respirator; and under what powers have such proceedings been taken?"

Sir John Anderson replied: "As regards the last part of the question, there are no such powers."

Thinking in Wartime

A Correspondent writes:

THE correspondence columns of the Press are full of letters on the subject of war aims. In *The Times* last week Mr. H. G. Wells uttered one of the most lucid and powerful of these pleas for a better world, *viz.*: "That our species set its face resolutely towards that drastic re-moulding of ideas and relationships which it has shirked for a quarter of a century....

"No group of people," he continues, "knows enough for this re-organization, and unless we can have a full and fearless public intercourse of minds open to all the world, our present enemies included, we shall never be able to establish ideas upon which a new world order can rest."

This honest admission that we are all in some measure to blame for the disaster which is threatening to overtake humanity, suggests the question whether we are right and wise in laying the exclusive responsibility on one particular "ism," however evil; in making its extirpation by war (Satan casting out Satan?) the unqualified and essential condition precedent to realization of ultimate aims, generous in scope, spiritual as well as political by nature, like those which H. G. Wells envisages.

He himself, Lord Baldwin, and other high authorities, have been telling us for years that another war would mean the end of European civilization as we know it, built up with so much patience and suffering through the centuries, and our relapse into barbarism. This would be no condition from which the fabric of a new world, a better one than anything we have known in the past, could arise. The final paragraph of Mr. Well's letter plainly hints at the existence, almost before the war has really begun, of this danger; for he closes on an impressive note which is at once a warning and an exhortation: "The war, under the auspices of ARP, is darkening everything. Are we to have as much light as that in the streets of the world? If not, I for one can see no hope for mankind. More of this sort of thing, and worse, to a final extinction."

Use the Pause

DISASTER has hung threateningly above us already for a month, without breaking down into that "final extinction" which must overwhelm civilization once interne-cine war irrevocably begins. What have we done, during this month's grace, towards that "re-moulding of relationships which we have neglected for a quarter of a century?"

All that we have done, whilst Poland has been annihilated, is to concentrate with increasing intensity upon further preparations for the destruction of more lands and peoples; and so long as a state of war continues, there must be less and less room in our minds for any other thought than these.

Whilst this breathless pause still lasts, let us consider whether Poland (i.e. the truest interests and wellbeing of the Polish people) can really best be restored by unlimited extension of the present area of devastation, including perhaps the surge of war afresh through her own blood-drenched plains.

Is there not some surer and saner means to the establishment everywhere, including Poland, of

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY

A CORRESPONDENT has received from a recruiting office a letter reading: "With reference to your application for enlistment you are invited to attend any day after Wednesday next, October 4, at this office, bringing this letter with you."

The letter becomes interesting when it is revealed that the recipient had made no application whatever to join up.

Is this an example of bungling, or of something worse?

The man in question had made application for benefit at his Labour Exchange, so his name and circumstances were known to the authorities. The whole affair may have an innocent explanation but, if it is not an isolated case, I should like to hear of others.

Something Special

A BBC announcer said the other day, "And now we're broadcasting something very special." It was a recording of Beethoven's *Moonlight Sonata*, played by Paderewski.

Beethoven was a German; Paderewski is a Pole! I wonder if the BBC had realized what a significant combination that was, whether, in fact, that was why it was "something special"?

Bravo, Li. G.!

MR. LLOYD GEORGE is to be congratulated on his speech in Parliament on Tuesday, urging the Government at least to consider peace terms if put forward by a neutral country.

Two points specially commended it. First, his point that "the terms would not be dependent merely on the word of one Government"—i.e., the German Government—which removes our Government's chief objection to negotiating peace. Second, his insistence on a peace which excludes nothing.

It is particularly significant that the Premier took the trouble to reply to the speech, and particularly encouraging that he was able to express at least a measure of agreement. It is also most encouraging that, though there were some somewhat fire-eating repudiations of Mr. Lloyd George, other MPs gave him their support.

More intensified pressure on every MP is clearly indicated.

This commentary, in common with other contributions appearing in "Peace News," must not be assumed necessarily to represent the views of the Peace Pledge Union.

When Poland Was Formed

The following extract is from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 13th Edition, published in 1926, and under the heading "Conference of Paris, 1919-20, Part VII, Summary Critique of the Conference"—The Polish Frontiers.)

THE delineation of the frontiers of the new Poland was a task fraught with the gravest dangers, both for the moment and for the future.

The reason for this was that her still great and powerful neighbour, Germany, was forced to yield a considerable part of her territory in order that there should be a national Poland, and, further, that she should be given an outlet to the sea.

Germany has never been reconciled either to Silesia's boundaries or to the Corridor and Danzig. She gave up the rich provinces of Alsace and Lorraine with scarcely a murmur, for when the tide of war went against her she realized that one of the penalties of defeat would be the restoration of territory taken from France in 1871. But the losses on her Eastern frontier came as a shock and cut deep into her national pride and consciousness.

It may be that in time, with wise and considerate treatment, on the part of Poland, an adjustment of their differences may be reached. It is not an insoluble problem, but it is one that calls for patience and a high order of statesmanship. With better trade relations between the two countries and with Germany in the League of Nations, there may come a feeling of mutual dependence; and a yielding here and there by each may accomplish a miracle."

ON OTHER PAGES

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THEY STILL WORK FOR PEACE IN THE U.S.A.

DESPITE frequent suggestions that America would, if necessary, come to the aid of Britain in the present conflict, a lot of activity is going on out there with a view to bringing about a truce as soon as possible. These activities, however, receive no notice in the British press.

A resolution of the Washington Committee of the Campaign for World Government was sent to President Roosevelt urging a conference of Neutrals to "marshal world opinion" in favour of an early and just peace. The participating nations would then be invited to draft a constitution for a world federation which would renounce war as an instrument of international policy.

Copies of the resolution were also sent to the Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, and to Congressional leaders.

A similar resolution has been introduced by Representative Martin J. Kennedy.

Author's Peace Appeal

Drawn up by the Women's Peace Union a peace appeal is being signed by American authors.

The appeal states:

"An economic conference of belligerents and neutrals alike is due, and overdue. We hold no brief for Hitler. But we recognize that the Germany of today is the logical outcome of the 'war to end war,' and of that war's savage travesty of peace—the Versailles Treaty.

"As American writers, then profoundly concerned with democracy and peace, we call upon our fellow-craftsmen and other citizens, to resist lying propaganda, and, constantly with sanity and idealism, with courage and common-sense, to aid the United States in the furtherance of such a conference, and of peace itself, above all in helping keep our own country free and clear of the shame and scourge of war."

Police Stop Peace Propaganda

FROM one or two sources the Peace Pledge Union has been informed of police action to stop the distribution of leaflets.

Whilst we believe that it is right that people should realize the risk they run by such distribution, we are sure that pacifists will not allow these risks to prevent them from doing what they believe to be right.

"Peace News" Sellers Reported

Every evening last week members of the Northampton PPU group sold *Peace News* outside the local repertory theatre.

On Friday evening three members were on this pitch when two plain-clothes policemen asked for their names, ages, addresses and occupations. Both policemen had already bought a copy of *Peace News*.

The sellers were taken to the police station, where they were told: "The facts are these: that you stood outside the Northampton Repertory Theatre on October 29, 1939, and proclaimed: 'Peace News—twopence.' These facts will be reported to the Chief Constable."

The sellers were then allowed to go home.

They had been carrying sandwich boards which read: "1914-1918, the War to End Wars—Did It?" and "End War or War

Two Soldiers Turn Pacifist

IN FRANCE: Told Captain "I Won't Fire" You can write to Jailed Resister

DESPITE a warning that he was liable to trial by war council, to imprisonment, and in war-time to being shot, a young Frenchman told his Army Captain shortly before war was declared that he would refuse to fire.

He has been recalled to the colours during the period of tension, having completed his military service a few months before.

"I went up before my Captain," he wrote to an English friend (in a letter quoted in *The Friend* last week), "to tell him that I was a conscientious objector and that I should refuse to fire, in wartime.

"He first tried to 'reason' with me; then, not having succeeded, he gave me three hours to 'reflect' and change my mind, warning me that I was exposing myself to trial by war council, to imprisonment, and in time of war to being shot.

"I told him, however, that I was ready to take the most dangerous post, as stretcher-bearer or hospital-worker, so long as I did not kill or help kill my 'neighbour.' He appeared unmoved."

The writer added: "It is for my little brother and mother that I grieve most. . . . I will die sooner than act against my faith. It is better to obey God rather than man."

Stood Firm Under Threat

"Naturally at the end of three hours I had not changed my mind. So I am left under this threat.

"I told him, however, that I was ready to take the most dangerous post, as stretcher-bearer or hospital-worker, so long as I did not kill or help kill my 'neighbour.' He appeared unmoved."

The writer added: "It is for my little brother and mother that I grieve most. . . . I will die sooner than act against my faith. It is better to obey God rather than man."

READERS of *Peace News* may, if they wish, send letters to the ex-Service man who, as reported last week, became a pacifist and is now serving a court-martial sentence of 56 days' detention for refusal to report for further military training.

Letters from sympathizers will be a great support to him. His name and address are: Rifleman L. J. Daventry, No. 6912670, Military Detention Barracks, Aldershot.

He is only allowed to write one very short letter each week to a relative—so readers who write to him must not expect an answer. Other letters may be sent, but he may not reply and every letter will be read first by the Commandant before Mr. Daventry receives it.

His mother has been sent a copy of the regulations, which are very strict, and which say: "Letters must not contain any information on public matters but only be about personal friendly affairs. Any criticism of the position or the authorities is banned and will not be passed on."

No stamps, cigarettes, papers or any article whatsoever may be sent.

At the conclusion of the report concerning Mr. Daventry, published in *Peace News* last week, most readers will have noticed a blank space. This was due to a deletion, while the paper was being printed, of an address to which readers could write to Mr. Daventry. The address and other information which appeared in a few copies is superseded by that given above, which has been received by a correspondent from Mrs. Daventry.

They Knew Better

(Vienna about 1907)

"Each government was out to defend its own national interests, and made no secret of it. There was less talk of arming only in the interests of peace, and fighting only for the good of humanity. We knew better than now where we stood."—*Laughing Diplomat*, by Daniele Varé, 1938.

CZECH "STRIKE" WORRIES GESTAPO

"CZECHS USE GANDHI TACTICS"—announced a heading on the front page of the *Daily Mail* on Monday.

The news story which followed told how passengers in Prague trams left them yesterday at a given signal. They 'struck' because conductors had been ordered to announce stopping-places first in German, then in Czech. Only a few German passengers remained in the cars."

The *Daily Mail* went on to report that the "strike" "was a complete success and was regarded with nervousness by the Gestapo, because it is the first direct display of organized passive resistance."

"The German police hit back by ordering the removal of all flowers placed on the Good King Wenceslaus statue in Wenceslaus-square on the Czech Patron Saint's Day. Enraged crowds who swarmed into the square were beaten back by police armed with truncheons."

IN the absence of further details it cannot be said with certainty that the Czechs have adopted a widespread campaign of truly non-violent resistance. The *Daily Mail* itself was cautious; in a footnote it added: "The Czechs appear to have adopted the tactics developed by Gandhi and the Congress Party in their 'civil disobedience' campaign against the Government of India."

The "strike" certainly seems to have been in the Indian tradition.

NOTE: The *Daily Mail* was not so pleased when the Indians adopted this method of resisting alien rule. Will it now realize that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander?

A 16-Year-Old

Faces the War:

YOU HAVE FAILED US You Leave Us to Put Right Your Errors, he says

I BELONG to a post-war generation, that is to say, post-Great War; therefore my knowledge of modern warfare has been gained mainly from textbooks.

Until the age of thirteen I cherished the childish conception of the glory of war and of the heroism of soldiers. I have since found what a sad delusion that was.

Never has the world been so fevered with war as it is now, yet twenty-five years ago men suffered and died to end all wars.

WHY are we at war today? I do not propose to answer that question, because it has baffled more mature minds than mine, but it seems to me that fear is the major influence in present-day politics.

Each country is suspicious of its neighbour, with the result that nervous tension, or if you prefer it, the "War of Nerves," has culminated in a war of blood and iron which is the life-giving breath to totalitarian systems of government.

That is why our government system must be brought into line with that of the dictatorships, "for the successful prosecution of the war."

THERE were great hopes for my generation. We were to have grown up ignorant of what war meant. But such a hope has now been shattered.

Once we sang the praises of the conquering hero, before we were shown modern war stripped of its "glory." Gone is the battlefield of fluttering banners and daring exploits of cheering heroes, and saintly deeds.

IN its place—and the first knowledge of it terrified me—stands a battlefield slippery with innocent blood; where friend kills friend; where men moan for their mothers; where above the barking of cannon is heard the chilling sound of soldiers who die cursing God.

BUT we must keep to our pledges!" scream the politicians, and the daily press re-echoed their cry.

What of your most solemn pledge to the rising generations? After "Peace" had been declared in 1918 you fervently murmured "Never Again." What of that now? Is it nothing to you?

You have failed us, lads of the "post-war" generation. You leave your mistakes to be rectified by us.

You say, "We go to free the oppressed!" Rather should you crave God's forgiveness and say "We prepare to fetter our children and their children. They must pay for our folly!"

Must we submit to this gross injustice? Armed with reason we shall one day overthrow tyranny if it has not already destroyed itself.

As yet my voice is of no account, but the children of today are the people of tomorrow. The lesson of the Great War (the epithet still puzzles me) was wasted. May the lesson now be driven home that "Wars will cease, when MEN refuse to fight!"

Steel Mort Thomas

NO BLACK-OUT OF PEACE OPINION IN BRITAIN!

—see

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Up-to-Date List of

Advisory Bureaux for
Conscientious Objectors

London

BERMONSEY. Mr. J. Douglas, 60b, Fort Road, S.E.1.

BLACKHEATH. The Peace Shop, 14, Royal Parade, S.E.3.

CHELSEA. Mr. J. F. Brown, 114, Kings Road, S.W.3.

CHISWICK AND HAMMERSMITH. Friend's Meeting House, Lower Mall, Hammersmith, W.6.

DALSTON. Charles Haworth, 18, Victoria Park Square, E.2.

EALING. Society of Friends, 49, Uxbridge Road, Ealing, W.5.

EDMONTON. Mr. A. E. Bayntun, 108, Town Road, N.9.

ELTHAM AND SIDCUP. Mrs. V. Lawrence, 69, Southern Crescent, S.E.9.

FOREST GATE. Mr. J. Curson, 128, Hampton Road, Ilford.

GOLDERS GREEN. Eustace Gillet, 5, Milton Close, N.2.

HACKNEY NORTH AND STOKE NEWINGTON. Mr. J. T. Harris, 9, Queensdown Road, E.5.

HAMMERSMITH AND CHISWICK. Friends' Meeting House, Lower Mall, Hammersmith, W.6.

HAMPSTEAD. Miss Westrope, 3, Warwick Mansions, Pond Street, N.W.3.

HORNSEY. Robert Avery, 100, Muswell Road, N.10.

HOUNSLOW. Mr. J. W. Alexander, 13, Lampston Avenue, Hounslow.

LEWISHAM. Mr. P. H. Couldry, 82, Cotton Hill, Bromley, Kent.

MILL HILL. E. J. Baker, 7, Trelawn Gardens, N.W.7.

NEW SOUTHGATE. G. Gubbins, 20, Friern Barnet Road, New Southgate, N.11.

PLAISTOW. Mr. A. W. Woodcock, 64, Cumberland Road, E.13.

POPLAR. Rev. Gilbert Shaw, The Sydney, 6, Woolmoor Street, E.14.

SHADWELL. Mr. Hoare, 293, The Highway, Shadwell, E.1.

SIDCUP & ELTHAM. Mrs. V. Lawrence, 69, Southern Crescent, S.E.9.

STOKE NEWINGTON AND HACKNEY NORTH. Mr. J. T. Harris, 9, Queensdown Road, E.5.

STREATHAM. Mrs. Clegg, 62, Strathbrook Road, S.E.16.

TOTTENHAM. F. J. Murfin, 88, Winchelsea Road, N.17.

WALTHAMSTOW AND DISTRICT. E. C. Redhead, 2, Mapperley Drive, Oak Hill, Woodford Green, Essex.

WANDSWORTH. Eric Tucker, 30, Alfriston Road, S.W.11.

WANSTEAD. Mr. A. G. Soar, 43, Keswick Gardens, Ilford.

WATLING. J. A. Bayes, 5, The Circle, Hale Drive, N.W.7.

WEMBLEY. Mr. S. E. Peat, 1, Ashton Court, Greenford Road, Harrow.

WILLESDEN. Miss L. Behenna, 88 Kempe Road, N.W.6.

WIMBLEDON. Mr. H. A. Gosden, 6, Gordon-Gale Road, S.W.19.

WINCHMORE HILL. Burleigh Finch, Rowan Wood, The Broad Walk, N.21.

WOOLWICH. Mr. R. J. Dunn, 10, Macoma Road, S.E.18.

Provinces

AMERSHAM. John Bunney, Marston Croft, Mitchell's Walk, Amersham.

ASHFORD. W. J. Suter, 14, Albert Road, Ashford, Kent.

ASHFORD AND LEATHERHEAD. Mr. J. Topping, An Groban, Fir Tree Road, Leatherhead.

ASHINGTON. Rev. Percy S. Carden, The Manse, High Market, Ashington.

AYLESBURY. Mr. A. W. Page, Oxleys, Leighton Buzzard, Beds.

AYLESBURY. Mr. R. E. Frost, Quantock, Meadway, Berkhamstead, Herts.

GREAT AYTON. A. Herbert Dobbing, Friends' School, Gt. Ayton, Yorks.

BAKEWELL AND MATLOCK. Rev. A. Jones, Mill House, Cromford, near Matlock.

BANBURY. S. Mabel Warner, 72, Bath Road, Banbury.

BANSTEAD. P. R. Alderman, 41, Central Way, Carshalton Beeches, Surrey.

BARNET. W. T. Cooper, 47, Netherlands Road, New Barnet.

BARROW-IN-FURNESS. J. N. Hexham, 50, Park Avenue, Barrow-in-Furness.

BATH. Arnold Longman, 32, Milsom Street, Bath.

BEDFORD. A. G. Lawrence, Rosamund Road, Bedford.

BEACONSFIELD. R. Everett, Corner Cottage, Jordans, Nr. Beaconsfield.

BECKENHAM. Mr. D. Webb, 152, Aylesford Avenue, Beckenham.

BEKHILL. Miss W. Rawlins, 2, Rotherfield Avenue, Bexhill.

BICESTER. Mr. S. G. Hedges, 56, Buckingham Road, Bicester, Oxon.

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First C.O.s' Tribunal under New Conscription Act

DECISIONS WITHHELD :: MANY GIVEN ALTERNATIVE SERVICE

By a *Peace News* Reporter

THE withholding of the decisions (to be sent privately to the applicants by the Ministry of Labour) deprived the first sitting of the London tribunal for conscientious objectors of much of its value as an indication to other objectors of what they might expect, and deprived the public of vital information as to the administration by a public court of an Act of Parliament—the National Service (Armed Forces) Act.

The general impression which observers got, however, was that the tribunal was even more anxious than others have been to place the applicants, so to speak, as near the fighting line as possible.

In fact *Peace News* was subsequently informed (without names being mentioned) that one applicant was registered unconditionally as a CO; two were to remain in their present employment as a form of alternative service; five were registered for non-combatant duties; and five applicants were put unconditionally on the Military Service Register.

The tribunal, which met in West London County Court on Tuesday, and was to meet again yesterday afternoon and today, was presided over by Judge Hargreaves. The other members were Sir James Baillie, Alderman S. H. Marshall, Sir Edmund Phipps, and Mr. A. B. Swales. Thirteen cases were dealt with in three hours.

It is expected that this tribunal will meet every day next week, and it is understood that the Newcastle tribunal will meet for four days during the week commencing on Monday, in the County Court, Westgate Road, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1.

THE attitude of the London tribunal can only be gauged (until individual decisions are known) by the kind of questions put to the applicants. Some general idea, however, of the possible decisions may be gathered from those questions and from the answers.

For example, the tribunal was able to put a man unconditionally on the register of COs. But in only one case did they seem to be anything like satisfied that they ought to do so.

It is possibly significant (not of the tribunal's attitude but of the effectiveness of the case put) that this was apparently the only member of the Peace Pledge Union. But when he presented his certificate of membership and it was found to be dated April of this year, an "Ah" escaped the lips of at least one member of the tribunal.

No Conscience.

The opposite course was for the tribunal to reject the application altogether and put the applicant unconditionally on the military service register. This it is virtually certain they will do in at least one case, where the applicant stopped the chairman (as he began to go through the usual procedure of reading the written application, inviting a further statement, and then asking various questions) and remarked: "I have no conscience on this matter; my objection is merely an objection." The chairman cordially thanked him for saving their time and passed on to the next case.

If I am right in assuming that this will be the decision, it will, I believe, be the first complete rejection by any tribunal except where the applicants have clearly not had even "merely an objection" but have been "hardship cases." There was also a 14th applicant who, however, was understood to have written that he "could not attend." Whether or not he was refusing to attend, he will presumably automatically go on the military service register.

Tribunal's Interpretation

But there may well be other rejections. For the tribunal was not only (rightly) inconsistent upon the objections being really conscientious, but interpreted "conscience" —really an impossible thing to define—rather narrowly.

Thus, I shall not be surprised if they reject the applications of the two men whose chief objection to fight was that they had "nothing to fight for," but I shall be surprised if they do not reject that of the man who said quite frankly that he only objected to fighting for imperialism.

Then there was a chap who produced the prophetic cartoon which was published in the *Daily Herald* in 1919, showing the "old men," having done their Versailles job, pausing as they hear the weeping of a baby labelled "1940 class."

The chairman waved it aside and said he wanted to hear what conscientious objection the applicant had; but the trade union official who later spoke for him recalled the

registered on the military training register for non-combatant duties—a third course which the tribunal was able to take. Two others who made similar offers, coupled with refusals to take life (one said he would rather be put up against a wall to be shot), are also likely to be registered in this way, and probably also a third in whose mind the only steps were the question of taking an oath and the possibility of being transferred to combatant duties.

In view of the tribunal's obvious desire to put as many as possible on that register, I shall be surprised if that is not the decision in at least two, and perhaps three, other cases. But in these cases the RAMC as such was not mentioned, but only "non-combatant duties."

Non-Combatant Duties

One was quite willing to do these and had, in fact, applied "to his Majesty's forces as a technical man," making it clear that he would not do combatant duties. A second finally answered the question, "Would you do non-combatant duties?" in the affirmative, though I got the impression that he felt cornered.

But in his case, and more particularly in the third of the cases which I have just suggested may be added to the "non-combatants," there was some confusion—whether deliberate or not I am not prepared to say—as to what constituted "non-combatant duties."

The latter, a refrigerating engineer, having objected to non-combatant duties, was asked if he would object to carrying on his present work. He said not.

Tribunal member: But that is non-combatant work?—Yes.

Tribunal member: You admit that principle and do not object to doing non-combatant duties?—Not connected with the fighting forces.

Tribunal member: This is connected with the fighting forces.—It is not. That is splitting a hair.

To which they could only make the obvious (but to many pacifists the most essential) reply: "Everything, in war, is subordinated to the fighting forces."

Yet it was at that very point that the member of the tribunal appointed after consultation with the Labour movement (Mr. Swales) showed his anxiety to be fair, (Continued on page 11)

Why Fight Hitlerism?

Under the Hitler régime the police have the right to enter private houses.

And in West London police court on Saturday Sir Gervais Rentoul, the magistrate, told a man charged with obstructing a special constable while in the execution of his duty and with failing to obscure a light:

"It is quite a mistake for you and other people to imagine that a police officer has not the right to enter your house if necessary to extinguish lights. He has ample authority to do so under the Emergency Powers Act. It is just as well that everybody should remember that."

It's Here Already!

Lloyd George's Warning Against Rash Action

THE Governments of the two Western democracies have a terrible responsibility on their shoulders," wrote Mr. Lloyd George in the *Sunday Express* this week.

"I earnestly hope they will not come to any conclusion without thoroughly and fearlessly examining the conditions . . .

"I would like to put in one earnest plea without loss of time. Before this Government commits us to an irrevocable answer to the Russo-German proposals, the House of Commons ought to have an opportunity of hearing what the Government have to say on the position.

"We heard of the guarantees to Poland only after we had practically committed the honour of this country to them.

"We heard that war had been declared only after the ultimatum had been sent and had expired for over an hour.

"It is a farce and an outrage on our democratic Constitution to face the representatives of the people with an accomplished tragedy."

ADVICE FOR C.O.s AFFECTED BY THE NEW CALL-UP

How to Register :: Work of the Tribunals :: Where to Get Help

WHEN the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, extending conscription, was being debated in the House of Commons, Mr. Hore-Belisha, Minister for War, said, "We have those of the age of 20-21, and we shall go up the scale very considerably before we contemplate placing this obligation on this lower age group" (the under-twenties).

But the young men who were then only 19 but have since reached the age of 20 are included among those who were called up by proclamation on Sunday. For the proclamation conscripts men who, on October 1, "had attained the age of 20 but not 22."

(No-one else is affected yet. The 22-year-olds—and any who will have become 20—may be called up by proclamation soon after Christmas, and it is reported that "machinery now exists to . . . call up men at the rate of an age group a month . . . but everything clearly depends upon the needs of the Service departments.")

Registration Next

The next step is the registration of all men mentioned in the proclamation—except those who registered under the Military Training Act. This will take place on Saturday, October 21, at local offices of the Ministry of Labour (and is, of course, quite separate from the registration on the National Register which took place last Friday). Public notices will be posted

locally indicating the actual time and place. Unless they take the position of complete refusal to comply with any requirement of a Conscription Act (though the Minister of Labour may himself register them), conscientious objectors who wish to claim exemption from military service must, when they go to register fill in a special form. It is advisable to ask specially for this as the Labour Exchange clerks are not likely to invite people to register as COs!

Refusal to Comply

Again, there will be those who take the view that, having once registered, that constitutes their claim to exemption as a right of conscience, which none can decide but themselves. These will have no more to do with the machinery of conscription—until, their names having been removed from the register of conscientious objectors, they are summoned to submit to medical examination, or, if they refuse, are arrested, fined (up to £5), and then medically examined.

It is also an offence, however (punishable by a similar fine), not to notify to the Minister any change in name or address, and not to produce the certificate of registration either on demand or, within two clear days of being requested to do so by a constable in uniform, at a police station, certainly produce a substantially larger number of COs.

The Act provides that, within a period of 14 days, the Ministry of Labour will be posted in the form which the conscientious

objector, receives at the Ministry of Labour office, he shall apply in writing to a local tribunal stating the grounds of his objection to military service. He then waits until summoned to appear before the tribunal.

How the tribunals will deal with the cases

and whether they will give absolute exemption, order some alternative service, put the applicants of the Military Service Register for non-combatant duties only, or dismiss the application altogether depends

namely on the attitude of the respective tribunals and, of course, on the case which the applicant is able to state.

Some indication as to the former may be gained from the account on this page of the tribunal sitting held in West London County Court this week. Though other tribunals may take up different attitudes, the fact that this is the latest to be held under war conditions may serve as a pointer.

Keep in Touch

As to the statement of their case, conscientious objectors should apply to their nearest Advisory Bureau (a full list of which appears on the opposite page) not so much for assistance (since their case must be their own) as for general guidance and also for more detailed information as to the provisions of the Act.

Under the Military Training Act, out of about 240,000 men aged 20-21 on June 3, about 4,000 registered as conscientious objectors. The number now liable for service in accordance with Sunday's proclamation is estimated at 250,000.

This larger number, together with the fact that the men are older, and in view of the fact of war and the growing opposition to this particular war, should certainly produce a substantially larger number of COs.

Watch *Peace News* and keep in touch with your Advisory Bureau for further information.

Journey to the End of the Night

In the capitals of Europe this week there has been a speeding up in diplomatic activity and in preparation for an intensification of the war. Arthur Wragg's cartoon graphically illustrates the mad drive to destruction that will follow if these preparations are not stopped now.

Millions of ordinary people, in many lands, are filled with foreboding. They feel they are merely passengers in the train. . . .

But in the adjoining columns Wilfred Wellock shows that even now we can, and must, halt Europe's progress towards a futile slaughter.

From the Editor's Notebook

Is the "Army of Taxpayers" Reliable?

"Peace News" Offices,
3 Blackstock Road,
London, N.4.

A LETTER published elsewhere in this issue reminds pacifists (if it were necessary!) of the difficulty in which modern war, by its totalitarian nature, puts those who would give the minimum of support to a thing they know to be evil yet cannot help touching at one point or another.

The stock example of this appallingly difficult problem is the payment of taxes, and in particular of income tax. I personally have never been able to see the advisability (while quite seeing the point) of individual refusals to pay. It is, of course, part of the whole question of where the individual decides to stop his direct or indirect assistance to the war machine.

I have always seen a distinction between that kind of action and the kind intended more as demonstration than as direct action. And the most effective form of demonstration against income tax for war, it seems to me, is a mass refusal to pay. People might agree to refuse on the understanding that, say, 3,000 others would refuse simultaneously.

The idea is not new. But in view of Sir JOHN SIMON's confidence "that we can rely on the great army of taxpayers to carry us to success in this part of the field just as we rely confidently on the armed forces of the Crown," it would be interesting to know how many conscientious objectors there would be "in this part of the field."

But refusal on grounds of individual conscientious objection—just because people simply cannot bring themselves to pay—is another matter and not in the least dependent upon other refusals.

Better Late Than Never

ONE of the things that have particularly impressed me during the past week has been the number of people who are apparently only for the first time bestirring themselves to bring peace.

It is an interesting comment on my note, last week, about public opinion. It is also, of course, a tragic comment (coming so late in the day) on the efforts of the peace movement generally over a couple of decades.

But apart from regret that it should take the taste of war itself to stir some to efforts to end it, the fact should inspire hope. For the strength of the demand that the war should be stopped is greater than most people realize.

The Press, of course, gives you little indication, but those who, like myself, have large mails, as well as those who talk to many folk, know that large and increasing numbers are opposed to this war. They may yet make their influence felt—both directly and through ANDREW STEWART at Clackmannan—by the Government so that it at least does not throw away the present chance of peace without any attempt at negotiation.

★

I want to emphasize this growth of opinion against war for another reason. It is that it should encourage all who are

(Continued on page 11.)

Drawn by ARTHUR WRAGG



WILFRED WELLOCK submits ten points to show

WHY THE WAR SHOULD BE STOPPED

IT is of supreme importance that in the present conflict pacifist activity should be directed to the issue of stopping the war.

While war rages, it is useless to theorize about pacifism. We shall get the public ear only in so far as we are able to elucidate the present situation, show where war is leading, and reveal the conditions of permanent peace.

The European situation has changed so rapidly during the last 14 days that almost everybody is confused. Thus the ear of the public is open to anyone who has any light to shed on the prevailing gloom; whence a great opportunity is afforded to pacifists.

To assist towards this end I have ventured to set out a few salient facts and considerations:

1. The coming together of Germany and Russia is due mainly to two things: a common fear of the Western Imperialist Powers in the struggle for monopoly which grows fiercer as capitalism approaches collapse, and a recognition of a considerable and growing unity in the political, financial, social and economic policies of their two regimes, and in their attitude to capitalism.

2. The recent change of attitude in the National Government toward Hitler and Nazi Germany, should be associated in large measure with the growing anti-capitalist trend in that country.

3. This situation means that if the war continues it will wholly change its character, and become a fierce ideological struggle between imperialism and National Socialism (Nazi and Soviet), for power to determine the future of Europe.

4. In the course of this struggle we must expect the reactionary elements in Britain and France to attempt to unite with revolting capitalist elements in Germany, together with groups of Officers of the old Reichswehr, for the overthrow of Hitler, with a view to restoring capitalism in Germany, and afterwards, possibly, of trying to isolate Soviet Russia. With such a German Government, the present Governments of Britain and France would probably be willing to make a more reasonable peace than is otherwise likely to occur. A period of vicious reactionism in Europe would follow.

5. There is now a very large body of opinion—which, by the way, includes Mr. Lloyd George—that is opposed to in-

cluding the restoration of the old Polish régime in the Allies' War Aims.

6. The opinion is rapidly spreading that a continuation of the war against Germany (leaving Poland out of the reckoning) will rapidly degenerate into a war in defence of British and French imperialism, and thus into an infinitely worse edition of the war of 1914, even if it does not go as far as is suggested in (3).

7. The financial collapse and the economic breakdown which must follow a prolonged war, together with the permanent loss of world markets which 2 or 3 years concentration on war work has involved, will cause the capitalists of Britain and France to refuse to give up their monopolistic (imperialist) economic power, but rather to seek to increase it, when new Peace Treaties are made, as at Versailles.

8. The hysterical struggle that is now going on between the combatants in the war to bring the neutral States into their "orbits," economically if not militarily, reveals a situation that is in flagrant contradiction with the declared war aims, with the assurance that there should be no more "Versailles," and that a spirit of brotherliness and co-operation should prevail in which a new world would be born.

Clackmannan is Your Chance...
About this article Wilfred Wellock writes:
I VENTURE to submit these ten points also to the consideration of the electors of Clackmannan, and rejoice that we are presented with this magnificent opportunity of testing the public mind upon the vital issues connected with this war.

I also rejoice that we have there so able a candidate as Andrew Stewart to present the pacifist case.

At Clackmannan pacifism will be put to the test. It will be asked for its alternative; it will be able to give it.

Send your good wishes to Andrew Stewart, but let them be substantial—in the Scottish interpretation of that word.

.. Don't Miss It!

9. It follows from the above that what is called Hitlerism is a by-product of imperialism, and that the real trouble is the existence of monopoly, the cornering of the fruit of the earth to which the entire human race can lay equal claim. To rid the world of this monopoly is our chief task; but as the prolongation of the war will strengthen the demand for monopoly economic power, the stopping of the war is an essential condition of advance towards the goal of permanent peace.

10. The cause of imperialist monopoly is not a shortage of means to satisfy the basic needs of humanity—food and raw material—but the demand to maintain the vested interests of private financial (often family and political) groups. The financial power of these comparatively small groups has been allowed to monopolize, and thus to hold up the rich harvests of nature, and, worse still, the brain and energy of millions of human beings.

This traffic in Nature and in Man must cease. The monopolies upon which it rests must be brought under democratic, that is, "social" control. In other words, "social"-ist Governments must come into being in Britain and France, get into touch with the National Socialist Governments of Russia and Germany, and with a social outlook and in a social spirit, start the re-organization of Europe.

And considering the impasse to which capitalist monopoly has brought the world, and the fact that even Nazi Germany has been compelled to travel the Russian road, even capitalists ought to take warning and welcome a "social" policy as the only way of escape from endless war and revolution.

It is beyond hope that amidst the collapse of the existing system a new national spirit may emerge, whose universality will ensure that, in the determination to democratize abundance and all its benefits, the element of dictatorship and domination may everywhere be discarded, and that the fervent desire for a freer, juster and more liberal civilization may lead to the creation of a movement which, uniting with a like desire in Germany and Russia, will build the bases of a new Europe?

We are moving fast towards world totalitarianism. The fact that the present war has merged into an ideological struggle makes it almost certain that it will terminate in a big extension of totalitarianism. Although I am fully aware of the sickly thing democracy has become even in Britain, I believe that it ought to be kept alive at all costs. For that reason alone this war ought to be stopped.

For if we keep democracy alive we may, when we will, quicken it with the breath of full-blooded being. Whereas totalitarianism presents us with an impasse. There is no known way of escape from it. Therefore let us work to stop the war.

STOP THE WAR! . . . USE PEACE OFFERS TO PLAN A BETTER WORLD . . . NO REPRISALS FOR BOMBING . . . these are a few of the demands which are being made by a public opinion for peace that still exists, despite the war. On this page are reported some of the ways in which it has found expression.

Liverpool to London Lone Peace Pilgrimage Gives a Lead to Women



"No Peace Through Victory"

—say Clergy

TWENTY-SEVEN clergy and ministers in Sheffield have declared their conviction that justice and peace "cannot be secured by force of arms or military victory."

In a Declaration of Pacifist Faith they say that justice and peace "are the gifts of God and must be sought along the ways of God—through mutual trust and understanding, right dealing and sympathy. In loyalty to our Lord, therefore, we must refuse to acknowledge war as an instrument of His Kingdom."

"We appeal to our fellow-Christians everywhere [continues the Declaration] to show forth in life and influence and spirit and purpose of the Prince of Peace and to seek by every means in their power, under His guidance, such reconciliation of the peoples of the earth whereby in mutual helpfulness the gifts of God may be shared and the needs of all adequately met."

Fourteen of the signatories are Methodists; five are Congregationalists; five Church of England; two Unitarians, and one belongs to the Christian Brotherhood Mission.

NO REPRISALS DEMAND

A declaration denouncing the bombing of civilians has been signed by forty-two members of the congregation of a Balham church and sent to the Premier.

"To the question 'If the enemy bomb our civilian centres would we be right deliberately to bomb theirs?', we are sure the Christian answer is 'No,'" the declaration states. "We should announce at once that in no circumstances will we bomb civilian centres, whatever the enemy may do. We should send that message to the German Government, and over Germany we should drop leaflets to that effect. . . . By this policy, if adopted, we shall save women and children in their thousands."

SEE ALSO—

What groups of the Peace Pledge Union are doing . . . p. 10

HE SAID IT!

"Here I am in the same post as I was 25 years ago. Rough times lie ahead . . ."
—Mr. Winston Churchill in his broadcast on Sunday evening.



2,000 AT ANTI-WAR RALLY IN GLASGOW

ONE of the largest anti-war meetings since the last war was held in Glasgow on Sunday of last week. More than 2,000 people stood round the platform and blocked North Hanover Street so that it was completely impassable.

On the platform was James Maxton, MP, Bailie Kerr, senior magistrate for Glasgow, Oliver Brown, Scottish Nationalist, and Guy Aldred, of the United Socialist Movement. The chairman was Bert Vallance, Secretary of the Glasgow and West of Scotland No Conscription League.

"All the fine spirit; all the great ability; all the power, to produce the things that make for life, are to be mobilized for the purpose of mutual slaughter and human extermination. Can any rational being defend that?" asked Maxton in his speech.

Wasted Years

"Since 1918," he continued, "preparations have been going ahead for the situation we find ourselves in today. During the precious years from 1918 to 1933, when the fascists came to power in Germany, Britain and France could have so ordered their European policy that Hitler would never have come to power at all."

Bailie Kerr, in attacking Arthur Greenwood's speech in the House of Commons, said. "If the whole of the Labour Party in the House and in the country is wholeheartedly behind Greenwood, then why the need for a conscription order?"

"The National Register means a passport to every citizen in the country," said Guy Aldred. "If that is not fascism, then what is it?"

"When we have finished fighting Hitler we will have to fight the Soviet Union, and then Japan," stated Oliver Brown. "We are not fighting for democracy. The people who are going to bring democracy don't believe in it themselves."

The Peace We Must Plan

"We must collaborate on equal terms with the peoples of Europe to make a settlement free from accusation of war guilt against the German people, free from all vindictive conditions and indemnities and from all attempts to impose unilateral disarmament—a settlement on which may be founded a new social order of peace and democratic freedom."

So urges a leaflet entitled *War Aims*, published by the Union of Democratic Control (34 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1).

Although nations under Hitler's yoke have the right to their freedom, points out the leaflet, "we must also work for a European organization in which they and other nations can work together in a federated system based on an economic and political internationalism."

Positive Proposals Wanted

A resolution has been passed by an emergency executive meeting of the Ruislip branch of the League of Nations Union urging the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union "to take immediate steps to impress upon the Government the immense moral initiative that would be gained by an early declaration to the German people and the rest of the world of positive peace proposals; that all branches of the union be informed of this action and urged to make it known as widely and quickly as possible as being the only way to prevent the war drifting along to sheer catastrophe; and, further, earnestly suggests that each branch of the union should without delay request its member of Parliament to press for such a declaration from the Government."

Emergency meeting of peace workers:

•Don't Reject Peace Offer Out-of-Hand"

FOLLOWING the Russo-German declaration of last week, and while the world was buzzing with talk of an impending peace offer from Germany, an emergency meeting of representatives of British peace organizations issued the following statement:

1. There should be no summary rejection of proposals to end the war.
2. The presentation of any such proposals should be used to secure a truce in hostilities and the submission of the issues to a conference table.
3. The reply of the democratic Powers should indicate proposals for a radical and constructive peace plan directed toward:
4. The active participation of neutral Powers, including the United States, in framing a settlement, must be secured.

The emergency meeting had been called by the National Peace Council.

The National Peace Council is anxious to get as soon as possible a large flow of letters on similar lines to the Government and Members of Parliament and to the national and local press.

Pacifists Can Be Patriots — With a Wider Vision,

says Edward G. Smith,
in his final article
in our series
"Speaking Personally"

WHENEVER war comes, one exceptional sorrow falls upon the pacifist. So many of his comrades desert him. Many who have worked persistently for international peace suddenly justify war.

It was so in 1914. Before that fateful August there had been in England a number of organized societies, leagues and associations whose object was the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Their members had met in numerous peace congresses and conferences, national and international.

They had opposed increased armaments. Some of them had even advocated total disarmament as an example and Tolstoyan non-resistance in the face of armed aggression.

When war came, the majority of these joined the great mass and became fiercely bellicose. They seemed to forget all they had ever said and appeared to believe. They responded to the appeal of dividing nationalism, which is one of the major curses of humanity.

Other more assured internationalists and lovers of humanity took their place. The Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Women's International League, the Union of Democratic Control and other fresh and eager bodies came into being and worked with the energy of new life for a better world.

But those who had failed are not to be blamed. To the average decent man and woman war presents a hard problem: the

difficulty to believe that the country they especially know and especially love is sharing in a common wrong.

This England

WE English men and women know England intimately, and for many reasons love it.

We know many of our fellow-countrymen and women and hold them warmly in our hearts. They are good friends and neighbours. Association has made us one. We love and enjoy the familiar sights and sounds and scents. We may grumble at the climate, the food or even the people, but together, with innumerable other things, they make up our England.

It is difficult to believe that this England — this dear England — is committing a great sin, the sin of sins. It is much easier to believe that the sin is particularly in another country we have been taught to think of broadly as Germany or Russia or France, or even, as might happen, the United States of America. We confuse and identify peoples with national policies.

In the nineteenth century, the national policy of England was one of ruthless imperialism combined with ruthless im-

perialism. The Manchester School and the Kipling Cult worked side by side, although they hated and despised each other.

They expressed the idea of aggrandisement. The possessive impulse went out equally after markets and territory.

All the while the average English man and woman remained a good friend and a kindly neighbour. It was difficult, it is difficult, to think of them as collectively predatory. But in other countries accumulated the legend of "Perfidie Albion."

The French, baffled at Fashoda, the Germans, denied "a place in the sun," were envious, suspicious and hostile. And all the while, the French and Germans, too, were good friends, loving fathers and mothers and kindly neighbours.

Wider Vision

NOW, when Dr. Goebbels denounces us shrilly for our perfidy and our crimes, we retort indignantly, "We are not like that! It is a lie!" And we are not like that.

We are the decent men and women who drink tea or beer, grow roses and play darts; who read Dickens and abhor cruelty. We have assuaged the worst evils of capitalism with State insurance schemes imported from Germany. We have tended our garden of intellectual freedom with characteristic reservations.

We are not a nation of criminals. We have meant no harm, whatever foreigners may have thought about us.

So comes the knowledge of much and therefore, the forgiveness of much.

If only we could extend our sympathetic vision across frontiers and see all those decent neighbours in other lands, living as well as possible according to their lights, we could not want to destroy them for their offences or the offences of their governments. We could not point the finger of self-righteousness and denunciation. "Let him who is without sin cast the first stone."

Those, with anything like an open and informed mind, who have heard Hitler's charges and self-justifications on the radio, must have often said uneasily, "We, too, have sinned as a nation. Whom are we to punish? Our call is to repentance."

It is not enough to protest that our national sins are in the past. Only yesterday English crowds were singing:

"Wider yet and wider shall thy bounds be set."

"God Who made thee mighty, make thee mightier yet."

What suggestion of repentance is there in those words? What Hitler could boast more defiantly? Alexander craved for more worlds to conquer, and schoolboys are taught to think of him as Alexander the Great. Cecil Rhodes dreamed of an all-red map of Africa and was acclaimed as a national hero.

Hitler, too, dreams his woefully evil dream. He is treading the historic way of the world.

Those who make war against him do but strengthen his pride and lust of conquest. When the conqueror is denied his conflict he will fall from his high place.

*

This article was unavoidably held over from last week's "Peace News."

Spare that Beard!

TAKE heart, you bearded men who are wondering how to wear your gas masks. There is no need to follow the example of the Monks who, according to the press last week, had their beards cut off.

A letter in *The Times* has suggested a less drastic way out.

"Four curling-pins may be bought at the stores and the beard tightly rolled up in these and tucked under the chin," said the writer of the letter.

"The gas mask is then drawn over the face, beard and all, and is perfectly airtight."

The writer was a woman, who declared that "this discovery has been the means of preserving my husband's magnificent beard."

BOOKS

WHAT SOCIALISM!

We Live and Learn. By Frank Tilsley. Labour Book Service.

MR. TILSLEY apparently set out to write a "plain man's guide to socialism." He has had a fair success with the first 160 pages: then his anti-fascism got the better of him and clouded his judgment.

Towards the end he devotes a good deal of space to a critique of pacifism, which contains a good many generalizations which are far too sweeping.

He declares that "so far as I know no completely comprehensive case has ever been made out attempting to show that the honour and consciences of men are inevitably bound up with their refusal to take life if they are commanded to do so by a Government acting constitutionally and in accordance with the will of the people."

One could argue for hours about the latter phrase alone, but to me the main challenge is unanswerable: either you know that it is dishonourable and wrong to kill people with whom you have no quarrel, or you don't.

Although he prides himself on his realism, Mr. Tilsley drags up that hoary old analogy between war and the violence of a madman who would take your life. If it is right to defend yourself against the latter, even to the point of killing him, we are told that "it is right to defend yourself from the aggression of a foreign country, even to the point of flying over it and dropping bombs on its women and children."

So we must bomb and starve the Germans "more efficiently and comprehensively than they can bomb and starve us." Since this book was written, that lunatic policy has been adopted, although it is not yet fully in operation. There is no indication that it will be any more successful in bringing peace than it was 25 years ago.

What's more, in dealing with the pacifist contention that nothing is ever settled by dropping bombs on women and children, the author declares that now "it is becoming increasingly and desperately clear that nothing is very likely to be settled by any other methods."

Which is no answer, of course, to the claim that the bombing of women and children will settle nothing except who has the superior air force.

Mr. Tilsley argues that we are mistaken in thinking of "an enemy country as consisting of ordinary men and women who have no desire to harm us any more than we have any desire to harm them"; unfortunately for him, even those who have adopted his policy admitted as they did so that our quarrel is not with the German people. Pacifists merely give that pious expression a practical application.

For all his socialism, Mr. Tilsley's arguments bring to mind Machiavelli's dictum: "Where the safety of one's country is at stake, there must be no consideration of what is just or unjust, merciful or cruel, glorious or shameful; on the contrary, everything must be disregarded save that course which will save her life."

Nevertheless there is a ray of hope; the author's final goal is a Federation of Nations, and he deplores the fact that the "anti-fascists are merely 'antis' without any common inspiration such as the definite idea of a United States of Europe would give to them." And again: "in a creative, changing world the only sort of thinking which is worth anything is thinking toward an ideal."

After all, "We Live and Learn," so even Frank Tilsley may be with us one day.

C.W.J.

Life and Work of Mahatma Gandhi

Messrs. Allen and Unwin have published a volume of nearly 400 pages (price 7s. 6d.) entitled *Mahatma Gandhi: Essays and Reflections on his Life and Work*, to be presented to him on his seventieth birthday, October 3rd, 1939, and edited by S. Radhakrishnan, Oxford Professor of Oriental Religions. There are over 60 contributors, mostly British or Indian. The book is a most timely one and should drive home to many readers the vital importance of the way of "non-violence," as taught by the great Indian leader.

A CLERGY CONFERENCE

will be held at 3.30 p.m.
on Monday, October 9th, 1939,

in the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club,
Binney Street, W.1 (opposite Selfridges)
when

Rev. PROFESSOR CHARLES E. RAVEN

will open a discussion on
"The Problems of Pacifist Clergy in
War Time."

Prof. Raven
will speak again in the Club at 6.30 p.m.

An Outline of Man's History

By PATRICK GORDON WALKER

NOT for a long while have I got so much out of a book as out of Patrick Gordon Walker's "Outline of Man's History," the N.C.L.C.'s latest book.—W. T. COLYER, Author of "An Outline History of Unemployment," etc.

GORDON WALKER'S is a grand book — certainly one of the very best in the Plebs series. It's a whole library in a nutshell, so to speak, and I'm just wondering whether to give myself a bit more shelf-room by clearing out a row of portly volumes on history and substituting this one book. It not only saves space — it saves time: he's done the reading and researching and sifted out the really essential historical facts. Anyone who digests this book can count himself educated.—J. F. HORRABIN, Author of "An Outline of Economic Geography," "Plebs Atlas," "Short History of the British Empire," "How Empires Grow," etc.

THE N.C.L.C. has reason to be proud of the standard it has set in catering for the Workers' bookshelves; and Gordon Walker's "Outline of Man's History" is a notable and indispensable addition to the series.—T. ASHCROFT, Author of "An Outline of Imperialism," "What's Wrong with the Schools?", "English Art and English Society," etc.

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Now is the Time

NOW is the time to act. Do not let the Government push this country further and further into this appalling and awful war. Organize a mass canvass of the people—and lose no time. Every day counts.

I have been asking the question of everyone I may meet in shops, buses, &c., "to fight or to finish now?" The general desire is no more fighting.

The mass of the people is with you. If you make your voice heard loudly everywhere, peace could be procured.

In any way I can I will help.

MADGE M. DUNDAS.
178 Ballards Lane,
Church End, Finchley, N.3.

It is clear that our first duty as pacifists at the present time is to exert every effort to stop the war. To further this end I suggest that every member of the Peace Pledge Union should send a postcard to the Prime Minister urging him to stop the war and try to persuade as many people as possible to do the same.

There are plenty of people who are not pacifists who would be willing to do this for there has been a marked change in the attitude of the public towards the war in the past fortnight.

Since the invasion of Poland by Russia the confidence in a victory for Britain and France has waned and people who were vociferously urging the prosecution of the war are now only too anxious that it should be stopped. These are the people who would be prepared to write to the Premier if the suggestion were put to them.

One PPU member of my acquaintance succeeded in persuading 60 fellow workers in his factory to send postcards—the majority of them were originally in favour of the war and had changed their attitude when the prospects of victory seemed much less likely! I suggest we would all do well to follow his example.

If a vast number of people in this country demand that the war should be stopped the Government cannot but take cognisance of the fact.

KENNETH S. WOODROOFE.
32 Parkstone Road, Birkenhead.

Your correspondent, W. M. Wallace, urges a much closer co-operation between the peace organizations and individual peace workers so as to secure a maximum influence upon the Government and upon public opinion generally.

I write to say that there has already been established under the auspices of the National Peace Council an Emergency Committee upon which most of the national peace organizations are represented and the express purpose of which is to secure rapid consultation and action between the various peace bodies and the development of a more effective use of our combined resources.

It was this Committee which was responsible for the issue last Friday of the four-point statement in regard to the Russo-German declaration and through combined effort, it was possible to give this statement a very wide circulation to local organizations and individuals over the week-end.

The Emergency Committee is at the same time considering how the machinery for the rapid distribution of suggestions for local action can be improved.

GERALD BAILEY,
Directing Secretary,
National Peace Council.
39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

I heartily support Mr. W. H. Wallace's suggestion that the PPU should ask all other peace societies to join forces in voicing the people's desire to stop this war NOW.

The insanity of the whole catastrophe into which power politicians have led us is beyond words. But humanity can rise again even from desolation. Seize the opportunity to consolidate men's will for peace into a mass organization unanimous on the vital issue.

I would urge further that the true solution is in a world-wide federation of peacemakers. Internationalism alone can create the organization and gather the resources to be used by workers who will devote their lives to stamp out war and rebuild civilisation.

ERIC J. W. TAPSELL.

Grecian House,
Sunderland, Cockerlouth.

AN APPEAL:

1. To Peace Pledge Union members. Do wear your badges—it's a tremendous encouragement to meet another and quite strange person wearing a PPU badge these days, in the midst of a welter of ARP, AFS, &c.

2. To "Peace News" sellers. Don't give up now—far from being more difficult to sell, *Peace News* goes better than ever at street corners.

3. To all Pacifists. Can't we have complete tolerance among ourselves? Can't we drop the argument between "humanitarians" and "absolutists"? We're all working for the same thing—let us respect each other's methods and get on with our own job of work—and never "wash our dirty linen in public."

(Mrs.) VERA BARNES.
17 Welbeck Court, Addison Bridge Place, W.14.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We have space for only a few of the letters we receive. Other things being equal, letters of about 200 words stand the best chance of publication.

War Work or—?

THE reception accorded to the recent Pacifist Service Corps proposals and the relatively enlightened treatment which COs are obtaining at the hands of the Tribunals are good indications of the line which the Government is taking toward pacifists. In effect it is telling us that it doesn't care a brass farthing what we do as long as we don't hamper the conduct of the war.

The point which the Government has realized is, that pacifists are under the necessity of earning their bread and butter or in other words of sticking to their jobs. This is the crux of the whole matter.

The introduction of the National Register means that totalitarianism has gained a firm foothold in this country, and in future any civilian carrying on his job will be as much involved in a war as a soldier on active service. The Register clearly implies that the civilian will only hold his job by virtue of its importance in the total war effort.

Civilian and military work must now be equated and the principles which guided the pacifist on the question in the last war are rendered obsolete. Jobs cannot any longer be put in order of their war importance and the least likely to help on the war selected. Every job is now a war job, and the pacifist who is given exemption from military service, provided that he carries on his ordinary job is being hoodwinked by the Government.

It is true that there are ways in which the pacifist may mitigate the evil effects of

Pacifism and the Working Class

We do not get the working class because we do not aim at it.

Obviously, a man who is out of his home at work for twelve hours daily, or is on the dole worried with the search for work, will not come to meetings with those who "look so prosperous."

Obviously, also, experience teaches him pledges are useless, and if not, as G. W. Dowd points out, mean one thing to him and a much smaller thing to others.

But if we mean to work actively for peace, we must have the working man, and I believe John Barclay knows the way. One percent of working men, I'm told, have a flair for politics. If we encourage any who seem to listen to us and encourage them to speak or, if they fear that, to tackle their fellows in their way, we shall get their votes though they may not talk about renunciation.

At the moment I suggest we leave what we are, and work for the objective offered us in the Clackmannan election. Even if we cannot win it, the publication of big numbers who worked for it or subscribed to it will impress our Government who consider citizens as numerals.

M. ILES.
At Little Wymondley Priory, Hitchin.

A Way to "Victory"

John Barclay in last week's issue of *Peace News* said "Let us be original."

British aircraft have successfully "bombed" Germany with leaflets. Could it not be suggested to the Government that this might be followed up by "Food Packets" of sugar and fats? It would be a practical demonstration, much more convincing than words, that England has no quarrel with the German people.

If the objection is raised that the Government cannot afford to deplete the country's food supplies it might be arranged for Peace Pledge Union members, friends and others to guarantee such supplies out of their own resources.

The idea is based on Christian principles and, it may be, it is sufficiently practical to catch the public imagination, which is by no means fully "war minded" at this stage.

Possibly such a scheme has already been considered, but it seems worth a second thought if the suggestion could be got across to those controlling the means of putting it into operation.

HOWARD C. MARTEN.

21 Shire Lane, Chorleywood, Herts.

Day of Prayer

Unfamiliarity with the Anglican Prayer Book and with the 16th Century idiom of thought and language has betrayed the querter of the prayer for the assuagement of the malice of our enemies into an injustice. It is not a good prayer, but the Archbishop of Canterbury responsible for it was not Dr. Lang but Dr. Crammer.

ROSE MACAULAY.

The War—as Before

IT is not generally realized that the war now going on is a continuation of the war which began in 1914. The "peace" which was brought about in 1918 was the peace of exhaustion, and it was not only Germany which was exhausted. During the years which have elapsed since 1918 the nations have been feverishly, and with only a few brief pauses, preparing to take up again that old struggle.

Peace between nations organized on an imperialist basis, and whose destinies are in the hands of power-politicians, is a "peace" devoted to preparations for the next bloody conflict. The peace years, therefore, are themselves a part of the war-strategy of imperialist Governments, to enable them to recover their military strength and material, and to give time for a new generation of cannon-fodder to grow up to what is aptly called the "military age."

Peace, real peace, between imperialist Governments is as impossible of attainment as was the attainment of a real and lasting peace in this country, during the period when it was organized on a system of feudal "baronies," each baron having his private army and being a law unto himself.

Armed conflict between rival imperialisms at fairly regular intervals is practically inevitable. The remedy for this state of affairs is for the people themselves to refuse to continue to live as the "retainers" of their Governments. That is, to refuse war as a method of settling (save the word!) quarrels which are not even their own.

T. J. E. WARBURTON.
Warrior House Hotel,
St. Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex.

"New Vision"

I consider that for one small displayed advertisement to pull a satisfactory and immediate response is an achievement of which any paper may be proud and I am glad to say I had an excellent response to the advertisement for *New Vision*, *The International Youth Review*, which I inserted in *Peace News* only a few days after the war began. *Peace News* must be one of the few papers maintaining keen reader interest even in war time.

May I add that in view of the size of the circulation it is now impossible to deal with *New Vision* entirely by private circulation and from the next issue (November 15) it will be available at Messrs. W. H. Smith's and many other newsagents.

Pacifists will, I feel sure, do all they can to help progressive publications—of which *Peace News* is fine example—by continuing to read them in war time. If they are enabled to carry on their influence should be very great when we are having the opportunities of peaceful reconstruction.

G. B. PITTOCK-BUSS,
Editor.
50 Langley Way, West Wickham, Kent.

Moral Victory

All pacifists are agreed that it is wrong to take up arms as we are expected to do now by our Government. Nevertheless, I see no reason to be dogmatic about the precise point at which we refuse to co-operate. The decision to be "absolutist," or "humanitarian," or even to take up non-combatant duties in the fighting services, is one that ought to be left to the individual judgment; the great thing is to accept the consequences of non-co-operation, whenever it begins.

I would go so far as to suggest that the dogmatic pacifist is a contradiction in terms, and that the dogmatic attitude of mind is the one primarily responsible for the present world tragedy. I would claim pacifism as a science, and one cannot be dogmatic in following the scientific method. One must examine and think on the evidence available, and make ones inferences accordingly, without bias.

I wish more pacifists had the quiet faith of men like Sigmund Freud instead of the noisy dogmatism of the "absolutists" and of the "humanitarians," who advertise their wares in competitive ways not altogether unlike those of rival Governments.

"Morality is safe and sure only when it sees both sides of a question with insight and with sympathy," says E. Grayham Howe in a recent PPU pamphlet.

Let us not hesitate to apply the "moral" to our rival pacifist faction, and even to our opponents, those who believe that "the only way is to meet force with counterforce." Only thus can we obtain peace among ourselves, and only thus can we get rid of the bitterness of spirit that makes moral victory over evil impossible.

RICHARD TAYLOR.
Grecian House, Sunderland, Cockerlouth,
Cumberland.

"Idiots Delight"

Might I suggest that outside cinemas when the film *Idiots Delight* is being shown, would be a good ground for distributing pacifist propaganda. This film makes people begin to think and the lesson should be driven home.

IAN WILLIAMS.
Braemar, 138, Kingston Road, Staines.

How Pacifists Can Serve

THE Pacifist Service Bureau—formed to help pacifists to serve their fellow men without being controlled by the military machine—announces that the development to date of the war situation does not create any particular demand for ambulance and semi-medical work. Nor is it possible at present to do such work overseas.

If circumstances change later (and especially if the possibilities of a mission to Rumania develop) those who have registered for ambulance work with the PSB will be informed. It is, however, unlikely that work of this kind can at any time be efficiently carried out except in co-operation with civilian authorities, and individual pacifists will have to decide whether they can give such co-operation.

Meanwhile there are already many other opportunities for service. Specific suggestions can be obtained from the Bureau at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

* * * * *

A Pacifist Service Bureau has been set up at the Dick Sheppard Centre, 158 Queens' Road, Peckham, S.E.15. Advice given on all matters on Monday, Friday, and Saturday, from 7 to 9 p.m.

* * * * *

Members of the Harborne (Birmingham) group of the Peace Pledge Union have sought the co-operation of the churches in the formation of a Christian Service Corps. The response has been magnificent. Address of the Corps: 146 High Street, Harborne.

* * * * *

A scheme has been started by the Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway, Bayswater, W.2, for the settlement of up to 30 men on 15 acres of land at Oaklea, Welwyn. It is hoped to find someone to start a community house in Paddington for conscientious objectors who can help in serving the poor of that area. From time to time there will be an interchange of men between town and country.

NOTICE TO GROUP SECRETARIES

Andrew Stewart, who is now in Scotland to contest the Clackmannan by-election, is unable to fulfil any of his October engagements. Group secretaries who desire substitute speakers should get in touch immediately with Roy Walker, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

What the Groups Are Doing

AT a weekend conference of the Wessex at a recent meeting of the Watford and West Herts Region.

The resolution appeals to the British and French Governments "to make a full and constructive statement of the views of its two Governments in regard to the structure of the peace settlement which they desire, and the contribution which the countries are prepared to make towards its realization."

1. That names of those willing to employ pacifists and of pacifists in need of employment should be sent to Mr. Weight at the above address.

2. That a fund should be raised.

(a) To subsidize employers who would otherwise be unable to employ additional labour.

(b) To make grants to enable land to be rented or purchased for cultivation and to provide the necessary equipment.

3. That the fund should be raised by contributions from members and sympathizers. Weekly collections of 1d. and upwards should not be difficult to obtain and everyone would be given the opportunity of sharing in the sacrifices which their fellow pacifists are making for the sake of their faith.

It would be appreciated if contributions could be sent monthly to the treasurer of this fund, Mr. Vincent Burston, Wyncuill, Enmore, Bridgwater.

Any one not connected with the Council, who wishes to join the scheme, may have further particulars from the secretary, D. P. Jones, 32 Pickwick-road, Corsham, Wiltshire.

Growing Activity in London

THE W.C.1 Group meetings for the last few weeks have been remarkable for their large attendances. There have been about twice as many present each week as there were six months ago, and there have been so many new members that last Friday there was a talk on the PPU itself.

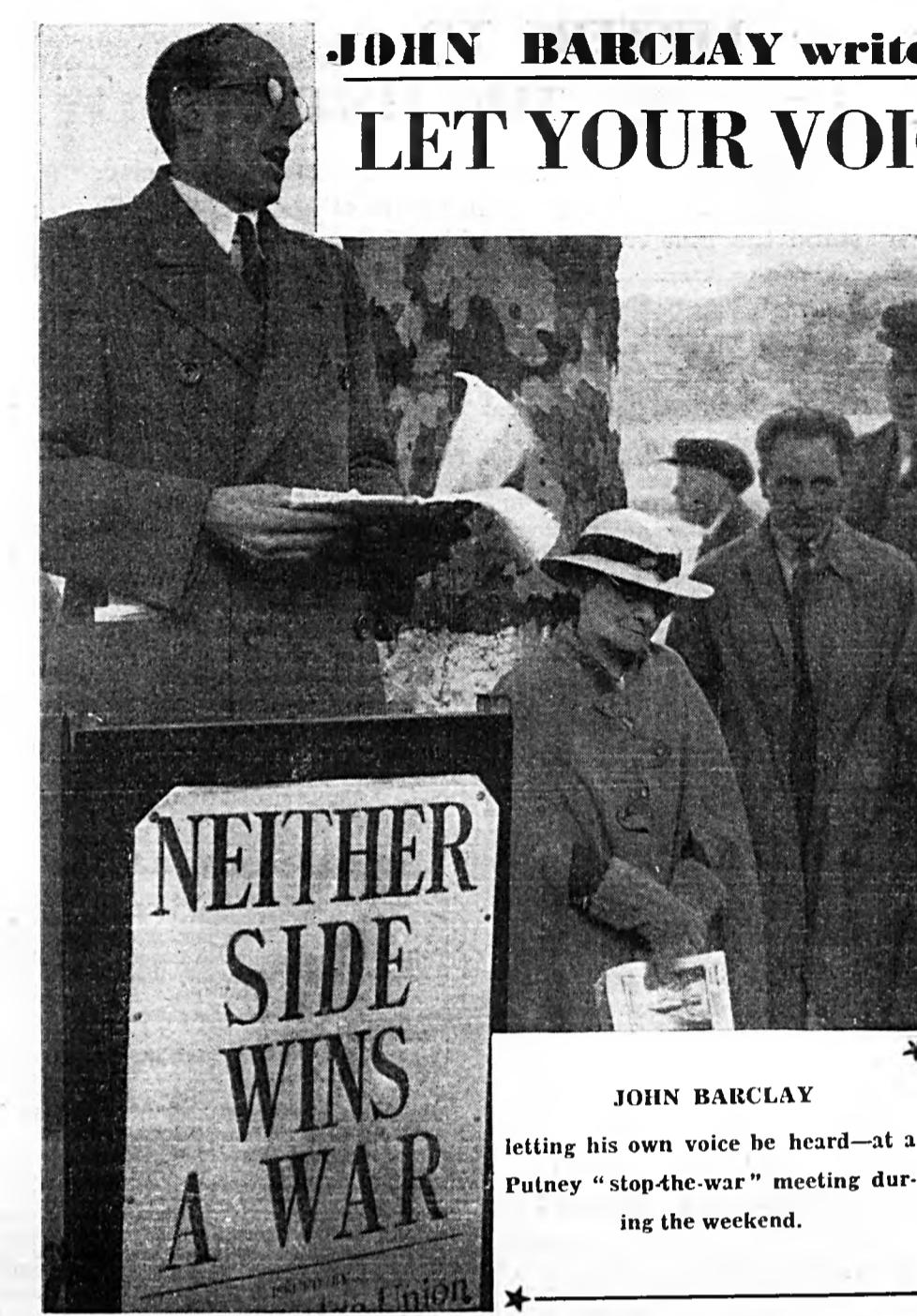
The Group was fortunate enough to have Max Plowman as speaker on this occasion, and he gave a most interesting talk on the history of the movement and its implication on society today. There were over 60 at this meeting. Some of the speakers at forthcoming meetings are: Allen Skinner, Rev. C. G. Holland, Andrew Stewart, John McNair and Fenner Brockway.

Several members selling *Peace News* tell of a greatly increased demand; two members last Friday sold no less than five dozen copies in an hour and a half.

The Group discussion cell has been restarted and is meeting each week to analyse the real issues of the war and to discuss the question of peace terms.

Watford and West Herts Resolution

A RESOLUTION urging the Government not to return a merely negative reply to any offer of peace which may be made, was passed



JOHN BARCLAY

letting his own voice be heard—at a Putney "stop-the-war" meeting during the weekend.

IN spite of the neighing of the old "War-horses" of 1914 and the uninspired bleatings of some episcopal sheep, this war still holds out no romance or righteousness for the majority.

War has but one end, destruction, and every day more people are finding out that the only courageous thing to do is to stop it. The question is, can we? I believe we can, but only by the complete surrender of the whole of our will and imagination to that end.

Thinking, willing and acting along one line together we can bring about the change in public opinion that alone will alter the direction of our present disastrous course. Tremendous as has been the work done by our members during this last month, still more is expected of us in the coming one.

Everyone who has a voice should raise it now. Let your voice be heard. Dare to stand on street corners and doorsteps, in shops or offices or in your own homes and speak out the words which alone will stop the war: "I renounce war."

At the same time make known the fact that you do not stand alone, but have behind you a great body of public opinion in the organized peace movement.

With ready sympathy for those who have already lost their jobs, call on others to support them and refuse to be down-hearted by headlines. Big words do not necessarily come from big minds.

The truth is not to be found on the front pages of national newspapers and may not even appear in weekly journals. It is often what is not said that is most significant.

Which paper, for instance, tells its readers that during the month of September 2,450 new members joined the PPU and that hardly a score resigned?

What journalist has dared to write a "story" about the crowded peace meetings up and down the country, or has told the inner history of the Prime Minister's post-bag, containing as it must the demand for peace from tens of thousands.

Do not be downhearted, be gay and of good cheer, because in the end, gaiety and cheerfulness denote the highest courage. This is no time for foolish optimism nor do I believe in gloomy forecasting of terrors to come.

You and I together are writing the future and we dare not spell out the word "Disaster." We have it in our power to help write the word "Brotherhood." Experience has shown me that people are influenced by friendship and co-operation and respond to it without stimulation. If you can help to form a new group, now is the time.

If you are in an area where little is known about us, sell *Peace News* or hold meetings. Talk and reason with everyone you meet, for unless you do, no-one will.

Above all, make your voice heard, saying "Stop the war before it is too late!"

Basque Children in their New Home

THE last fifteen of our children, with two mistresses, are now in a Basque Colony at Margate. We gather that they are happy. Bertita, our baby of 3, probably the youngest of the Basque refugees in England, was at once "torn" from her mother and became the pet of the whole colony of some 90 children.

Joaquin Moya, our little "gangster" whose propensities so alarmed the staff of his earlier colony that they proposed to dump him in Spain, hopeless though his prospects were, and whom the staff at Langham may fairly claim to have "redeemed," has discovered a long-lost cousin, and you may be sure that they, and the rest of the "prole," short for "proletariat," and used by the children to mean "the lads," will be up to their usual drolleries.

They were an amusing gang, the remnant. Any help you can kindly afford them should be sent to Leonard Read, Basque House, Langham, Essex.

THEO WILLS

To Examine Needs of Poles

The Anglo-Polish Society's Relief Fund in London has granted £300 to pay the expenses of Quaker investigators to go to examine the situation on the Polish frontiers and to report.

This information has been given by Robert O. Mennell, a Quaker member of the Society, in a letter to Lady Tweedsmuir, wife of the Governor-General of Canada. Lady Tweedsmuir had written to the headquarters of the Society of Friends inquiring what was being done to help the Poles, and whether there was "any lead I can give the people here."

New Groups Round Stockport

DURING the year there has been an increase of active members in Southport and district.

Groups have been formed at Cheadle Heath and Reddish and both are now alive and active. There are also prospects of increased support for the Offerton group which has suffered many setbacks recently.

Publicity arrangements are now in hand for a large public meeting to be addressed by George Lansbury and Andrew Stewart, with Stuart Morris in the chair.

Suggestion from Carlisle

ROUPS may be interested to know what the Carlisle group proposes to do about the leaflet "Peace Aims and the German People." It is intended to write a letter to the local MP enclosing a leaflet, as suggested by Stuart Morris, but they will have the letter signed by as many people as possible. They think they could

Birmingham Street Selling

THE next mass street selling of *Peace News* in Birmingham will be on Saturday, October 14, starting from Dick Sheppard House, 36 Holloway Head. Sellers should be at the starting point by 2.30 p.m. Tea will be available at about 5 p.m., but you should bring your own sugar and food.

The Moseley (Birmingham) group organized their second selling in King's Heath High Street last Saturday and succeeded in selling sixty copies in just over an hour. The effort will be repeated tomorrow and it is hoped to organize regular selling.

Newcastle Peace Resolution

OVER two hundred were present at a meeting organized by the local branch of the PPU and held in the Friends' Meeting House, Pilgrim Street, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, last Saturday, when a resolution was passed unanimously that telegrams be sent to the Prime Minister and the local Member of Parliament asking for an immediate Armistice and calling of a World Conference to work out in detail the basis of a true and lasting peace.

The meeting was addressed by Dr. Arthur Raistrick, and Arthur W. Kay was in the Chair.

Dates for Your Diary

- Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
- Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Today (Friday)

LONDON, W.C.1: 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Father John Groser on "The Rent Strikes"; PPU.

Tomorrow (Saturday)

HAMMERSMITH: 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Lower Mall; regional meeting on "Conscientious Objectors and Community Living"; chairman: John Barclay; PPU.

LEICESTER: 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Prebend Street; committee meeting of East Midlands area; PPU.

MANCHESTER: 3 p.m. Houldsworth Hall, 90 Deansgate; Vera Brittain, Maurice Browne and Stuart Morris on "A Just Peace"; PPU and Society of Friends.

Sunday, October 8

BOURNEMOUTH: 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road; Rendall Davies on "Europe Today"; PPU.

Monday, October 9

LONDON, W.1: 6.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street; Canon C. E. Raven.

SWANSEA: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, High Street; Wynne Samuel on "The Pacifist Answer to Hitler"; United Pacifist Group.

Tuesday, October 10

LONDON, E.C.4: 12.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Isaac Goss on "Pros and Cons of Service."

TOWER HILL: 12.30 p.m. Open-air meeting; Mrs. Rosa Hobhouse and Maurice Rowntree City PPU group.

NORWICH: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Hall, Pottergate; Stuart Morris and A. J. Eddington (chairman); FoR.

Wednesday, October 11

BIRKENHEAD: 7.30 p.m. Beechcroft Settlement, Whetstone Lane; pacifist convention; Wilfred Wellcock; PPU.

BOURNEMOUTH: 8 p.m. Town Hall; Stuart Morris and John Barclay; PPU.

Thursday, October 12

LONDON, E.C.4: 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Mrs. Joyce Pollard on "The Case for a Peace Army."

LONDON, W.C.1: 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; extraordinary general meeting.

BOURNEMOUTH: 8 p.m. Winton Co-operative Hall; John Barclay; PPU.

Friday, October 13

KING'S HEATH (Birmingham): 7.30 p.m. Parish Hall, High Street; Dr. Herbert Gray; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Preston Benson on "Pacifism and the Press"; PPU.

Saturday, October 14

RICHMOND, Surrey: Labour Club, 57 Church Road (Upper); one-day school on "Peace Aims"; James Avery Joyce as lecturer; 3 to 5 p.m. and 7 to 9.30 p.m.; PPU.

LONDON, W.1: 7 p.m. King's Weigh House, Binney Street, Oxford Street; meeting for PPU members; running buffet from 6.30 p.m.

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MEETING OPEN TO NON-MEMBERS.
Speaker:

Canon C. E. RAVEN, D.D.

Monday, 9th October, at 6.30 p.m.

Cafe open before and after the meeting.

From the Editor's Notebook

(continued from page 6)

already working for peace, even though they do not always see results and get depressed by the other people who still support the war in too great numbers.

One offer of help I have just received, for example, reveals that the inspiration to work for peace came from hearing the Peace Pledge Union "tub-thumper" in Hyde Park. Beginning in a rather modest way some weeks ago, this stand was found to be attracting by far the largest crowd.

This paper is also bringing in supporters for the stop-the-war campaign, as a big jump in our circulation last week shows. One writes of "having just been introduced to Peace News (apparently the only sane paper in a mad world) . . ." Another says, "Buying Peace News in Romford came first—now ordered at newsagents."

Which reminds me—if you have difficulty in getting the paper from your newsagent, ascertain the reason. If it seems that he really has difficulty in getting it, ask him who his wholesaler is and let us know. If it's just unwillingness, try another newsagent, send us a subscription, or get it through your PPU group.

Full Time Job

I WONDER if we shall ever know how many people refused to fill up the National Registration Form last Friday or used it to express their opposition to war.

A London reader writes that in the column headed "Occupation," "the Government obviously expected me to humbly submit to signing myself 'Spinster; private means.' Instead she wrote: "Christian pacifist, full-time job, unpaid."

Call of the Hour

THOUGH written before the war began, and published in the summer issue of *The Plough*, an article entitled "The Call of the Hour" becomes more, rather than less, topical both in its content and in its title. It answers a question that is on many lips today: "What must we do?"

First, says the article, "we need men who are aglow with the fire of love . . . who live love, not only with words but also with deeds. We need men who have received complete certainty and clarity from the Absolute that they recognize and expose evil, whatever form or disguise it may take, as that which destroys life."

The article expresses, in an admirable sort of summary, the attitude and position of the Society of Brothers, as the Bruderhof is now known.

"The Absolute is God alone," the article continues, "and what we need today is to turn about and to turn back to God."

"We cannot change the world . . . But we can change ourselves by repenting and leaving all the dead works of personal and collective self-interest. That is the first thing. Then we can believe in God, and love Him and serve Him. That is the second. The third inevitably follows: that we love our neighbours as ourselves."

"Thus then it happens . . . that men live in peace, that they bear no arms even when compelled, but sooner suffer death than do wrong. It happens that men give in their goods and possessions, and put all their working strength at the disposal of a life of brotherly community, of social justice and the unity of nations and races."

"It happens that men, because they have withdrawn and turned away from the darkness, from war, injustice, hate and impurity, and because they believe in God, become free, loving men who serve God and their neighbours in purity and unity. Such an event is an intervention of God in this present time."

The article is obtainable in pamphlet form from the Plough Publishing House, The Cotswold Bruderhof, Ashton Keynes, Wilts, at 1d. each, 10 for 8d., 50 for 3s.

Are You a Pacifist Scouter?

Pacifists in the Scout movement are invited to communicate with the Rev. F. H. Gardner, Eversfield, 180 Coatham Road, Redcar.

Mr. Gardner writes:

"Any fellow-pacifists who are also members of the Scout Movement, will doubtless be aware of the recent re-statement of the policy of the Movement on the question of National Service and kindred subjects, and may have experienced, as I have, doubts as to the compatibility of Scouting and pacifism. If any pacifist Scouter would communicate with me on the question, I should be willing to circulate all with whom contact was thus established with a résumé of our various reactions to the position in which we now find ourselves."

H.S.M.

Read the

SOCIALIST CASE AGAINST WAR in

"FORWARD"

Every Friday 2d.

HONEST, FEARLESS, INDEPENDENT

Send postcard for sample copy to:
26, Civic Street, Glasgow, C.4.

What They Said About War

No. 1

"War wins nothing, cures nothing, ends nothing."

—Mr. Neville Chamberlain.

Is Still True

Tribunal Report

(Continued from page 5)

not to say sympathetic, to the applicants. For his question, "Are you subservient, in your present employment, to anyone in military authority?" was clearly designed to bring out the meaning of the applicant's phrase "not connected with the fighting forces."

It was after this case, too, that the chairman had occasion to rebuke the public (who practically filled the small courtroom) for clapping and otherwise showing their feelings.

Work Under Civil Control

There remains the fourth course open to the tribunal—registration on the register of conscientious objectors conditional upon undertaking "work specified by the tribunal, of a civil character and under civilian control." But only once was the direct question asked, "Are you prepared to do work of a civil character under civil control?"

Although the answer was "No," no attempt was made to press the point by suggesting forms of such work. And in no other case did the tribunal specify a job and ascertain the applicant's attitude toward it, except when certain jobs were confused with non-combatant duties.

It is difficult to see, therefore, how the tribunal could exercise their power in this direction (unless they included an entirely arbitrary order in the written intimation of their decision), except by ordering the applicant to remain at his present job. This they will presumably do in the case of the man who was actually prevented from appearing because of his engagement in "civil defence" duties, and whose case was postponed.

Members' Attitude

As for the attitudes of individual members of the tribunal, Mr. Swales, though coming nearest to the sympathetic, was not quite alone in making special efforts to be fair. The chairman, as in the case of the other tribunals, made considerable efforts to put the applicants at their ease and to give them some confidence in themselves.

Even he, however, was inclined to ask questions indicating what I thought an unnecessary suspicion that the applicants had extended their objections beyond the conscientious since the rejection of their application had come to mean war service instead of only training. The alderman had the disconcerting manner of a clever cross-examining counsel, while Sir James Baillie's questions sometimes came near to the absurd irrelevances associated with the 1916 tribunals.

It was Alderman Marshall, for example, who asked an applicant who said his principle against killing extended to animals whether he was a vegetarian. But it was left to Sir James to ask, "What about beets?"

Often repeated questions were: "How long have you held these views?" "What have you done to further them?" and, of course, the usual questions about church membership that indicate an assumption that conscience is synonymous with religion, and religion synonymous with church.

For Short-Wave Listeners

To the Editor of "Peace News."

Would it be worth your while to remind readers with short-wave sets that Dr. H. E. Fosdick will be heard on Sunday evening next at 10 p.m. from Schenectady, 19.57 metres. I understand he will make special reference to his attitude to American neutrality. He was on last Sunday night and reception is good on this wavelength.

NELSON E. DELVES.

High Homestead, Polegate.

"Peace News" in Nelson

Members of the Nelson PPU group are busy making a door-to-door distribution of 16,000 leaflets.

There has been a great demand for Peace News in this district and 650 copies have been sold in three weeks. Last Friday 99 copies were sold in an hour.

Classified Advertisements

1d. per word, minimum 2s.

Box Number 6d. extra.

LATEST TIME FOR COPY TUESDAY MORNING.

ACCOMMODATION

To Let.

LARGE BED-SITTING ROOM in pacifist's flat near Guildford stations. 10s. furnished or unfurnished. Share kitchen, cellar, &c.—Box 213, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

Wanted.

GUILDFORD district. Pacifist seeks bed and board during Monday to Friday. Private house preferred.—Write Box 209, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

TEACHER WANTS

unfurnished room, use of kitchen with family. N.W. London, near bus or tube.—Miss Child, Spinney, Crowborough, Sussex.

FOR SALE

PRINTING PRESS with Type, &c., 22s. 6d. Bargain.—Particulars W. Webster, 291a Norman Road, Derby.

MUSICAL

FREDERICK BOWMAN'S Peace Song, 4d. Words, Music, 4s. 6d. gross—Publishers, "Talking Picture News," Liverpool 1. Also Cards.

PRINTING

PACIFIST PRINTER—Leaflets, handbills, stationery, cards, and other simple matter.—W. J. Brigden, 232, Selincourt Road, London, S.W.17.

RELIGIOUS

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

SITUATIONS

Vacant

WANTED, in a reception area on Welsh Coast, a good repairer for children's shoes. Preferably with a taste for gardening. Good wages. Permanent.—Box 212, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

The Pacifist Challenge to the War Parties

DR. ALFRED SALTER'S APPEAL

(continued from page 1)

caused to helpless masses of the population in this and other countries, has shocked and bruised me.

I cannot face without a protest such cruelty, such callousness and such indifference to fundamental human values. I notice, too, that practically everywhere the people who shout for "a fight to a finish" send other folk, mere youngsters and voiceless boys, to do the fighting and the finishing. They do not take part themselves except with their mouths.

And I notice also that it is not the soldiers who talk in this vein. The phrase merely means that these lads by the hundred thousand are to be driven like lambs to the slaughter.

★

FOR 33 years I have never supported, worked or voted for any candidate at any election, Parliamentary or municipal, except an official Labour candidate.

Today my religious faith, my deepest instincts and my political sense combine to compel me to support Andrew Stewart in his gallant fight in Clackmannan to Stop the War and bring about a real and lasting Peace. In face of the butchery and the sorrows of Europe I can do no other.

I know Andrew personally and I know him to be a good Labour man, an out-and-out Socialist, a pacifist and one who will dare any risk in following the course he believes to be right.

My Quaker interpretation of history, apart from the teaching of Christ, convinces me of the certainty that evil means are inevitably productive of evil results and that evil cannot be overcome by evil.

War is unmixed evil, by whomsoever waged and for whatever object alleged. Today, on a modern scale, it is national suicide. Its end is futility, as the last war proved and as this war is proving. Our pledge to Poland egged on that country to its own destruction and to the annihilation of its capital city.

★

WITH a sorrowful heart, but with complete conviction, I write to beg Clackmannan electors, whatever may be their normal political associations, to vote solidly for Stewart. A heavy vote will tell the Government that there is a big section

of public opinion that desires an honourable peace at once, before greater bestialities are perpetrated by both sides.

It is credibly reported at Westminster that the Government, faced with the hard facts of the military and diplomatic situation, is anxious to have pressure exerted for the opening up of negotiations for peace. Clackmannan can exert that pressure by voting for Stewart.

What is it that advocates of a lengthy or continued war are expecting or hoping for?

Answer—increasing misery and starvation is to bring about a revolution in Germany that will overthrow Hitler.

But if that revolution occurs there will not emerge a nice, docile, respectable Social Democratic regime like that of Weimar. It is certain that the resulting dictatorship will be Communist and it will have the active backing and material support of Russia. Bolshevism will come right up to the French frontier and ever nearer and nearer to Britain.

What then?

Our governing classes will never stand that! There will follow another blockade of Central Europe in an attempt to intimidate the German workers as in 1919 after the Armistice. History will repeat itself and a new world war will be in preparation, a war between the Capitalist democracies, so called, and the Russo-German bloc.

★

A DECISION to continue the war will mean not only that we doom millions of bright young lives to mutilation and death, but that we also decree the death of the Labour Party. In an ideological war of the sort to which I have just referred, the parties of the Left will be split from top to bottom.

Religious belief and political instinct alike urge me, whatever may be the consequences to myself from the Party point of view, to support the Peace candidate at Clackmannan.

For the love of Christ, for the sake of humanity, for the preservation of all that is beautiful and good in life, for the salvation of the threatened new generation, I implore the electors of the Clackmannan Division to vote for Andrew Stewart.

Twelve Pages — With Your Help

THIS week Peace News is back to its issues in the future. But we can make no promises: there are war-time difficulties in the way, and costs are increasing.

We will, however, promise this: if you will give us your full support we will give you the best possible value.

The Peace News Fund has had another good week, and we are very pleased to acknowledge the following contributions:

	Net.	£	s.	d.
February to April average	18,278			
May to July estimate	20,548			
September 15 issue	approx. 21,000			
Last week (including 1,000 for Clackmannan campaign)	approx. 25,000			
During the past month newsagents' orders alone have increased from 14,000 to 15,400.				
Previously acknowledged	189 19 5			
K. West	2 6			
G. Blacker	2 6			
Bushev Group	10 0			
L. A. W. Abley	5 0			
A. Williamson	1 0			
G. Flint	1 0			
C. M. White	5 0			
From Boxhill	2 6			
H. E. Barrett	2 0			
"Burnley Pacifist"	2 0			
I. B. W.	3 6			
Mrs. Lafitte-Cyon	10 0			
W. S. Kay	1 0			
J. M. Richie	5 0			
J. H. Bell	2 6			
J. Simpson	1 0			
Anon	10 0			
High Wycombe Group	4 0			
W. H. Hammond	10 0			
H. Cooper	2 6			
J. Harrison	2 0			
H. Clifford Maggs	2 6			
C. B.	5 0			
M. H.	2 10 0			
C. H. C.	10 0			
E. M. Gibbons	2 6			
Tremewan	2 2 0			
Anon	2 0			
New Reader. N.17	1 0			
W. J. P.	10 6			
J. H.	2 6			
E. Hague	1 6			
E. A. James	5 0			
O. Robotham	5 0			
Mr. Durken	1 0			
V. Gumbrell	3 0			
E. R. Groom	1 6			
	£205 9 0			

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I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

CUT OUT FOR RETURNS
No. 173 6.10.39

"A Young Maxton"

ANDREW STEWART, "standard-bearer" for the peace forces in the crucial Clackmannan by-election, is a member of the National Council and the National Executive of the Peace Pledge Union.

He is well known as a national speaker on pacifist platforms. In the London Star this week he was described as a "young Maxton" who had faced fascist interrupters when speaking on Tower Hill and in the East End of London.

He is a journalist, and has been assistant Editor of Peace News since October last.

Andrew Stewart's Call to the People

(continued from page 1).

ion of wealth, and the perfection of a Fascist regime in this country.

War Is Futile

From our platform and in our literature the electors will hear this war condemned from many points of view: condemned by men and women who call themselves Socialists, or Christians, or rationalists, or simple humanitarians. From me, however, the final condemnation they will hear is that this war, all war, is futile, useless for the purpose to which it is dedicated.

There are, God knows, in this crazy world of ours, many and vast problems which have to be solved—problems of trade, of colonies, of access to raw materials, of outlets for population, of minorities, for example—problems which must be solved if we are to have real and lasting peace. But war can never solve them—for all that war can decide is which of the two contending parties is the stronger, not which is in the right.

It is only by the long and laborious process of conference, and concession where called for, that these problems can be solved amicably and finally. Every day we engage in this futile slaughter and destruction is a day lost for peace-making and a day in which already great problems have been further magnified.

Public Opinion Must Speak

The Government has launched our people into this war by standing by an immoral and irredeemable pledge to Poland. Neither by election, nor by referendum, nor by any other method, have they attempted to ascertain public opinion. We believe that, in fact, the vast mass of our people did not want this war to begin, nor do they desire it to continue now.

This by-election gives a representative section of the people an opportunity to tell the Government publicly that it has no confidence in the war method and is not gulled by the specious arguments of the War Coalition.

I shall beg the electors of Clackmannan to vote for me in this election, not so much as an individual, but as the symbol of that vast and unheard mass of our people who desire only peace, and who if they did but raise their voices would sweep the warmongers from power.

STOP THE WAR!
END CONSCRIPTION!
PLAN FOR REAL PEACE!

These are the banners of this Crusade. I shall appeal to the electors of Clackmannan, in the name of humanity, to join us under them now, and so give a lead to the country and to the world.

Don't miss the latest news of the campaign: make sure your newsagent has an order for "Peace News" next week.

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STOP PRESS

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